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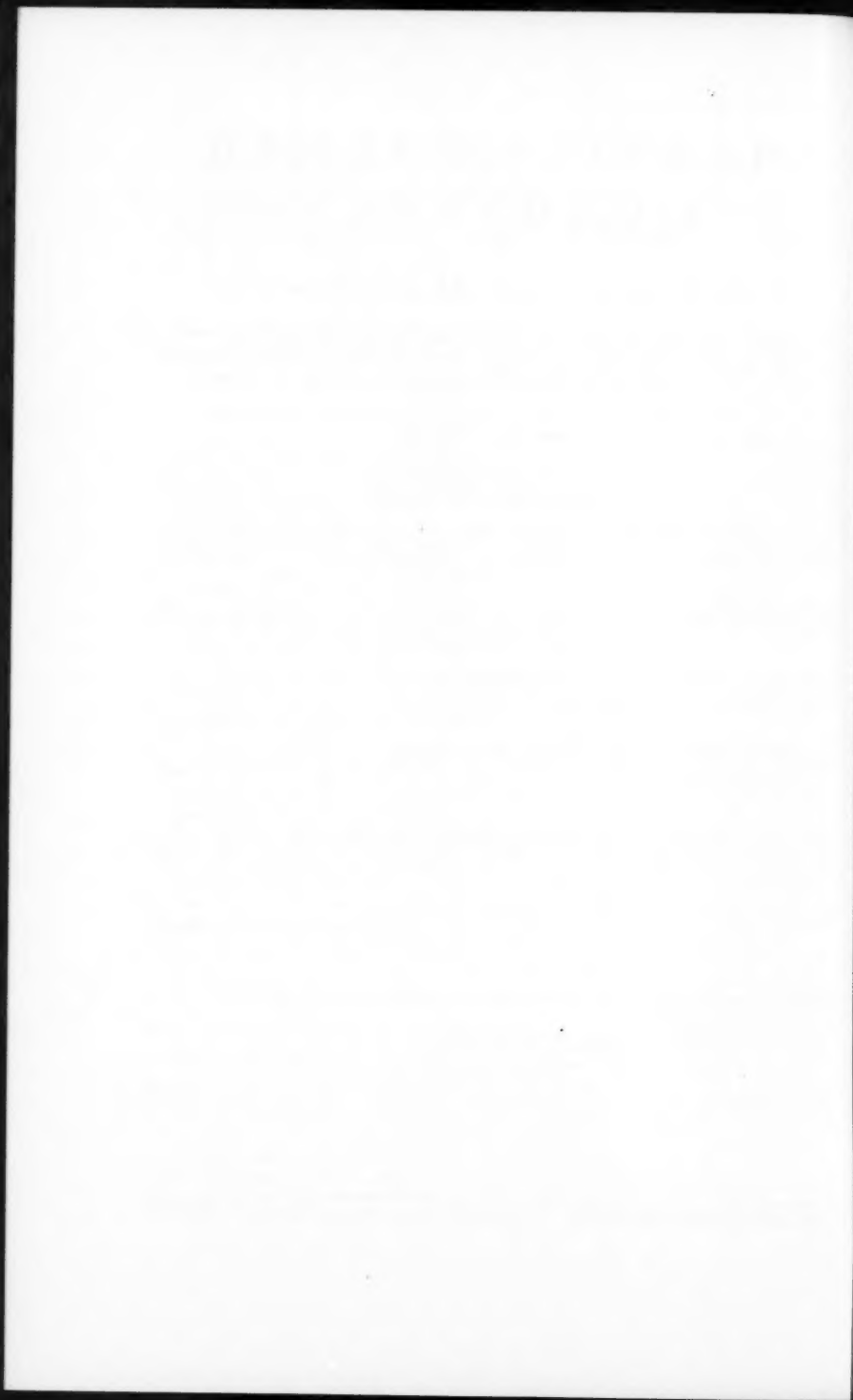
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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
IMPACT OF NEW RESEARCH ON COLLEGE TEACHING	
Norman Burns	115
DEVELOPING DOCTORAL PROGRAMS IN MARRIAGE COUNSELING	
Aaron L. Rutledge	125
INTEGRATION VERSUS ANTIDISCRIMINATION	
Charles Livermore	132
KINDERGARTEN BEHAVIOR AND FIRST-GRADE ACHIEVEMENT: A CASE STUDY	
EXPLORATION	
Anton Brenner and Nancy Morse Samelson	140
BOOK REVIEWS	156

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IMPACT OF NEW RESEARCH ON COLLEGE TEACHING

NORMAN BURNS*

This presentation opens on a note of optimism and of hope. When one looks at college instruction of an earlier day it is apparent that we have come a long way. Note, for example, the description of teaching at Yale 100 years ago provided us by Andrew Dickson White,¹ Cornell's famous first president.

The worst feature of the junior year was the fact that through two terms, during five hours each week, "recitations" were heard by a tutor in "Olmstead's Natural Philosophy." The textbook was simply repeated by rote. Not one student in fifty took the least interest in it; the man who could give the words of the text most glibly secured the best marks. . . . Almost as bad was the historical instruction given by Professor James Hadley. It consisted simply in hearing the student repeat from memory the dates from "Putz's Ancient History."

The fact that Hadley was an historian of note would seem to give support to the view that scholarly attainment does not assure teaching competence. One must remember, however, that the conception of how learning took place in those days was based on the faculty psychology of John Locke. The purpose of education was to discipline the mind, and rote memory was good discipline. Thus the instructor "heard recitations."

As Cowley observes, he was not a teacher; he was a drill master. Nor was he thought of as a specialist in a subject-matter field. David Starr Jordan² described his teaching assignment at Lombard College in 1872 in the following words:

My chair demanded classes in Zoology, Botany, Geology, Mineralogy, Physics, Political Economy, Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," and, incidentally, German and Spanish. I also had charge of the weekly "literary exercises," consisting of orations and the reading of essays . . . with a class in Sunday School as good measure.

The impact of the German university on American higher educa-

*Dr. Burns is Professor of Education, University of Chicago, and Secretary, Commission on Colleges and Universities, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

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tion during the latter half of the 19th century changed all this. The teacher became a specialist, the curriculum came to be functionally organized, broken into discrete subject matter fields the content of which was seen as valuable for its own sake and not merely because it served to exercise the mind. With this basic change in curriculum came equally striking modifications in the instructional process. The lecture was replacing the hearing of recitations and drill. It came first at Harvard—more slowly at Yale and other more conservative institutions. In the 1870's President Noah Porter³ of Yale conceded that the lecture could be used sparingly with advanced students but he still was strongly of the opinion that it was inappropriate for undergraduates.

During the period of the rise of the German-type university with its concern for specialized scholarship the function of the teacher was to present knowledge to the student. There was little concern with the way in which the student learned. He learned or he didn't learn—the responsibility was his. Nor was there any conscious concern in the German-type university with the possible influence of education on attitudes, values, or changes in behavior.

The situation today is certainly different. For good or ill, depending upon one's philosophic position, we have today the pervasive influence of Dewey and the instrumentalist school. The use of the word pervasive is justified because, though this influence has been most apparent in the lower schools, it has had more effect at the college level than is sometimes realized. I believe that the writings of the protagonists of different philosophies tend to give us an impression of conflict within the educational world which is exaggerated. The basic philosophical position of the rationalist is, of course, markedly different from that of the instrumentalist. In his writing the rationalist shows little interest in the psychology of learning or in empirical study of the learning process. He builds his educational structure on a base of lasting and unchanging truths.⁴

The new-humanist, though he does not subscribe to the rationalist's system of absolutes, has much in common with the rationalist. With regard to the teaching-learning situation he is likely to see teaching as an art, and though he may attempt to describe the characteristics of the good teacher, he is inclined to deny, at least by implication, the idea that the components of effective teaching can be identified through objective study and presented to prospective teachers as learning materials. Simon,⁵ for example, in his *Preface to Teaching*, says,

These then, are the crude materials of the art of teaching—your personality, your subject-matter, your pupils. Their interaction will determine your success in

achieving an interesting style, and that in turn is dependent on the same elements that make up any art—unity, form, and rhythm.

Similar is the position of Bernice Cronkhite⁶ in her volume, *A Handbook for College Teachers*:

In a sense, teaching cannot be taught since essentially it must be a flaming and an outgoing of the spirit. It is possible, however, that men and women who have succeeded as teachers can offer some guidance which will be helpful to the novice who has a latent capacity for teaching.

Despite the strong positions taken by some writers, the examples in the world of American higher education of any particular philosophic position in anything approaching its pure form are, I am sure, few in number. The great majority of American colleges hold to an eclectic position. The influence of the classical humanist is apparent; it is stronger, of course, in some institutions than in others. Typically colleges are concerned with content and the curriculum is faculty-determined, for the most part. They seem, by and large, not to be particularly concerned with whether or not the student has an interest in the content before he is exposed to it. In their experimentation in the area of teaching they are likely to give their major attention to curriculum reorganization as the means for effecting improvement, and relatively little to the learning process *per se*. They are seriously and in some instances mainly concerned with intellectual growth. Their activities seem to assume that learning about values will result in a commitment to values.

But the influence of instrumentalism is also clearly evident in these colleges. Though curriculum planning is faculty dominated, student interests are not ignored. True, the curriculum may not be structured for the individual student with his immediate interests as the base to the extent the instrumentalist would advocate, but there are, nonetheless, important concessions to student interests. In fact, college curricula have changed significantly over the years as a result of expressed student interests. Note, for example, the decline of classical language and the strong growth of social sciences and their application to vocational or professional areas such as business administration. Furthermore, curricula in the modern college differ radically from the classical, humanistic college of an earlier day not only in content but also in the measure of student choice permitted. For most colleges it is not true as Hutchins⁷ has said that whether or not the student likes the program is irrelevant. The competitive situation sees to that.

It should also be noted that, though the neo-humanist college does not follow the instrumentalist dictum that the student participate actively in curriculum planning, it is not unaware of the importance of

motivation as essential to learning. The various measures employed to accomplish this are too well known to require citing here. Further, the typical modern college sees value in student planning in connection with various college activities, and in active student participation in a variety of projects. These are considered important learning experiences.

The influence of instrumentalist philosophy is also seen in the typically expressed concern with the inculcation of sound values and the effecting of desirable changes in student behavior through the educative process. Except for the few institutions at the extreme of the rationalist position, the educational goals set for themselves by institutions are not solely intellectual in character. I would call your attention to the appearance with monotonous regularity in statements of college objectives of the desire to produce a product which will be capable of a satisfying personal life, of good interpersonal relations, and of discharging the duties of citizenship in a democratic social order. It is true that such aspirations often seem to be little more than something to be hoped for with little evidence that effective steps for their fruition are being taken, but no one, regardless of his philosophical persuasion, has yet been able to show with any certainty how such outcomes are brought about.

Still another evidence of instrumentalist influence is found in the interest of the modern college in the study of its problems, including the improvement of teaching. Much of the experimentation on curriculum and instruction that has been carried on in our colleges in recent years has its basis in the findings of modern psychology. For example, the view that man is a unitary organism, reacting as a whole to his environment, is the basis for the efforts we have seen in recent years to achieve curricular integration in general education. So it is also with regard to the development of the field of student personnel services with its concern for the whole development of the individual personality. An accepted place in higher education has been granted to guidance programs which recognize the important effect on learning of emotional disturbance, health problems, unsatisfactory adjustment, anxiety, and the like; to programs of student activities designed to provide experiences recognized today as educative; and to testing programs to provide fuller information about the characteristics of the individual student in order better to understand him.

Another of the findings of modern psychology—that transfer of training exists and that the amount of transfer is related to the extent to which the learner perceives similarities between the situations involved—provides the underlying support for the efforts to organize learning experiences so as to make clear their relevance to what the student perceives to be his needs.

It appears that experimentation in curriculum and instruction has a general undergirding provided by psychological theory and research. However, specific undertakings in this general area of experimentation frequently do not have a research base. Instead, in many instances, reliance is placed on judgment based on what seems reasonable within the framework of one's philosophical convictions and what is, in general, known about people and how they learn. Illustrative are the recommendations on instruction offered by skilled and experienced observers on the educational scene like the late Paul Klap- per.⁸ He and others of his stature have made a signal contribution. Also in this category are some of the practices being advocated by persons seeking to cope with rising enrollments through devices for making better use of faculty resources such as the systematic and planned use of student clerical assistance, adjustment of teaching loads, classroom procedures and class size, and the like.⁹

The fact is that experimental developments along these lines often do not lend themselves readily to evaluation through empirical study. Brown University a few years ago inaugurated a lower division program called "Identification and Criticism of Ideas." Fourteen courses are organized and taught under this plan. Textbooks and lectures have been replaced by free and informal discussion organized around ideas. It may be that Taylor¹⁰ in commenting on the plan is right when he says, "there is probably no way of determining accurately just what the relative value of such an experiment may be."

I have been commenting on the use of reasoned, informed judgment as a base for experimental programs. This kind of basis can be defended, but there is the danger, one, of mistaking slogans for reasoned judgment, and, two, of adopting procedures merely because they have been adopted by others. This bandwagon psychology is illustrated by what I fear is a substantial number of general education programs which are set up because "it is the thing to do" and are mere copies of other general education programs.

The slogan kind of thing is well illustrated by the wide insistence that the classroom be run "democratically." Yet evidence that desired outcomes are more readily attained by this kind of arrangement is inconclusive. We do not really know whether the democratically run classroom is any better than any other kind.

Another of the popular slogans is that the college library is the center of the instructional program. The wide-spread acceptance of this notion is reflected in the general concern with building up strong collections, with good housing for the library and an adequate library staff, with pleasant reading rooms of adequate size, open stacks, and other devices to encourage student use of the library. On the validity of this slogan we do have some evidence; studies of library

usage indicate rather clearly that the library is not, in fact, the heart of the instructional program—that use of the library by students is mainly confined to assigned readings.¹¹

The disturbing findings of research on library usage raise important questions about the instructional program into which we need not go. One thing is clear, however; we cannot justify the heavy expenditures for library purposes unless theory and practice in library usage can be brought together. If the theory is good, it must be made operative; if it is not, we should bend our energies in other directions. We should not continue to build and maintain costly libraries if all we need is a reading shelf containing required readings with duplicate copies in sufficient numbers to care for the number of students involved.

Much of the interest in the improvement of instruction expressed in the literature has to do with how to make the teacher a better teacher and how to impart to new teachers what we now know, or think we know, about good teaching. This has led to efforts to identify the characteristics of the good teacher, and to have students rate teachers on the basis of their possession or lack of these characteristics. It is an approach that has its good points. The trouble is, first, that frequently the characteristics of the good teacher as stated are likely to be rather obvious (he should like young people and be enthusiastic about his subject), and second, student evaluation, though probably reasonably reliable as an expression of student reaction to the instructor, is not ordinarily expressed in terms of the particular objectives held for a particular instructional situation. For example, an instructor may be concerned with shaping student values. The student is hardly in a position to comment on his effectiveness in this regard, even if he were aware, as he probably would not be, of the instructor's objective.

I referred earlier to efforts to improve instruction through curriculum reorganization and modification of instructional procedures. These efforts, we noted, have, for the most part, been broadly based on the theories and research findings of psychology. In recent years new avenues of investigation in the area of learning have been opened up. These newer studies reflect our concern today with outcomes that go beyond mere acquisition of knowledge.

One of the most promising lines of inquiry of this sort was the study carried on at the University of Chicago a few years ago in which the thought processes of students in lectures and in discussion groups were investigated and compared. It was found that the lecture evoked primarily thoughts relating to comprehension; the discussion, thoughts relating to problem solving. It was also found that the personality characteristics of students were related to the nature of participation

in class and to achievement in problem solving, and that whether or not the student participated overtly in the class discussion had little bearing on his learning. Incidentally, the study indicated that there was much room for improvement in the discussion method. This conclusion was based on the fact that to a large extent students' thoughts were irrelevant to the topics under discussion.¹²

There has been considerable interest recently in applying the theories of non-directive counseling and of group dynamics to the field of instruction. The main implication for instruction seems to be use of the discussion method with students playing an active part in the situation, even to the extent of taking over what have formerly been thought of as the teacher's prerogatives—decisions on content, timing, and evaluation methods. This is what is meant by "student-centered" teaching rather than "content-centered" teaching. It calls for what is generally known as "democratic" as opposed to "authoritarian" leadership.

The studies that have been made to date of the effectiveness of this approach when applied to the teaching situation do not support the high enthusiasm of some of its protagonists. For example, McKeachie¹³ reports that the conclusions reached by Lewin, Lippitt, and White in their research on authoritarian and democratic group leadership do not seem to hold in the classroom situation. Student learning does not seem to be influenced by the type of class leadership. Perhaps, as he suggests, the usual class situation is not comparable to the children's play groups and women's groups used by Lewin, Lippitt, and White in their experimentation.

Jacob¹⁴ on the basis of his analysis of a large body of research comparing student-centered teaching with other methods reaches these conclusions:

1. Teaching method seems to have little if any effect on the acquisition of knowledge or changes in attitudes and beliefs.
2. Students are more uneasy and anxious in the student-centered situation than in those where they have a larger measure of leader direction.
3. There is some evidence of personality growth, and improvement in emotional and social adjustment and self-insight under more permissive teaching.
4. Individual differences among students in personality characteristics have more effect on what students get out of a particular learning situation than the method of instruction.

McKeachie's report on student motivation may shed some light on this situation. It has important implications, not only for the use of non-directive student-centered, or group-centered methods, but

for all teaching methods. His conclusion is that the question for the teacher is not how to motivate the student since students are motivated all the time, but rather how to channel the motives the student already has toward the desired objectives. Two motives not commonly understood are the student's need to be liked and accepted by fellow students and his need to succeed, vocationally and in the classroom. The two components of need are fear and hope. Some students are motivated primarily by expectations of success; others, by fear of failure. McKeachie¹⁵ concludes that students need to know what is expected of them and, thus, new methods of instruction must be fully explained to them. Furthermore, students are less anxious and perform better on tests if they feel the instructor is sympathetic. Perhaps we have here the explanation of the anxiety felt by students in a student-centered situation. The approach is completely foreign to the usual student experience.

I want to turn now to a type of experimental program somewhat different from those we have been considering. I refer to the projects growing out of the fear (as the pessimist sees it) or the challenge (as the optimist sees it) of greatly increased enrollments at the college level. These experiments are primarily "holding actions," that is they are designed to spread our limited teaching resources over a large number of students without serious detriment to the educative process. Hopefully, of course, some of them may even lead to improvement.

Naturally, in view of the nature of the problem, many of these projects are experiments in large group instruction. Many hope to find a partial answer in television which, providentially, arrived on the scene at just the right time. The following are a few examples of this type of study: Pennsylvania State University, employing a controlled groups technique, has found no evidence that instruction by closed circuit TV is inferior to conventional forms of instruction. The State University of Iowa finds that, through the use of a two-way audio hookup, TV can be used without sacrificing the values of discussion.¹⁶ (The assumption is made that discussion has values.)

Miami University has been carrying on an experiment in TV and other large group instruction methods with matched small groups as controls, and has reached tentative conclusions that student achievement is as good in the large groups as in the small though students express some preference for the small groups.¹⁷

Another study reports an unfavorable reaction on the part of faculty members to closed-circuit television in a college of liberal arts. The faculty feared the loss of the values of the give-and-take of the small group, the benefits to be derived from intimate teacher-student contact, and the intangible values not readily measured by examination.¹⁸ The values this faculty (and many others) would preserve

may well be real. As we have seen, the evidence to date is inconclusive. The fear of loss of these assumed values may well be justified. Again, the evidence to date is inconclusive. But perhaps it is merely that faculty members, like the students McKeachie was referring to, are uneasy in a situation to which they are unaccustomed.

What may we conclude from our consideration of efforts to improve instruction in institutions of higher education? We have observed that many of the efforts are based on faith derived from the acceptance of a particular philosophical position. We have learned a great deal about the nature of the learner, but evidence on the efficacy of particular schemes for bringing about improvement is—much of it—inconclusive.

We need to know much more about the learner and the learning process. Teaching is probably both an art and a science, and there is probably no one method of instruction that is best for all teachers. However, better understanding of the influence of the personality characteristics of the learner on how learning takes place will aid the individual teacher in arriving at methods which will be most effective for him in terms of his own personality characteristics and the philosophical position he endorses. This suggests that research on the relative values of different instructional techniques is not likely to be particularly fruitful since it does not take into account the personality characteristics of the teacher or the taught.

We need to advance our knowledge of testing and refine the instruments to the end that they may provide more accurate data on the different kinds of outcomes with which we are concerned. Equally as great here, as in other areas of social life, is the need for better communication between those who are knowledgeable in the field of evaluation and those who are doing the teaching. Even the basic idea of the use of testing for the improvement of instruction as well as for the evaluation of student accomplishment is not as widely held as it should be. The professional in the field of evaluation already has instruments which would be of value to the teacher were the teacher aware of them and willing to use them.

Finally, the graduate school needs to be further sensitized to its responsibilities for the preparation of college teachers. Only a start has been made in informing the prospective college teacher of the nature of the responsibilities he will face and in making available to him the available knowledge of the teaching-learning situation.

We must advance on all these fronts if we are to move toward the ideal held forth for us by Whitehead of an institution of higher education that "preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest for life, by uniting the young and the old in the imaginative consideration of learning." The conviction that we are making real

progress in this direction encourages me to close this paper on the note of optimism with which it opened.

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DEVELOPING DOCTORAL PROGRAMS IN MARRIAGE COUNSELING

AARON L. RUTLEDGE *

In 1955, discussing the future of marriage counseling,¹ most marriage counseling was recognized as an activity carried on by people of various professions, with or without specialized training. Recognition was given that a new profession, marriage counseling, was emerging. Speaking of the small but vital group of then qualified practitioners this author said: "Marriage counselors do comprise a profession and unless they establish themselves as such with adequate standards of training, experience, ethics, and regulations which become common knowledge, the public will continue to be at the mercy of the incompetent."

This 1955 paper called for publicizing the membership requirements of the American Association of Marriage Counselors and urged that organization to: (1) set minimum standards for training, and (2) establish standards for the qualification of training centers in marriage counseling, and, as training opportunities became available, revise membership requirements "to make mandatory supervised internship training . . . (as compared to the present two to five years of 'experience') in handling marital problems."

Considerable progress has been made. A.A.M.C., by popular and professional demand, has taken a much more active role as the representative organization in this significant clinical area. Perhaps the most vital progress of A.A.M.C. has been achieved with respect to training. A committee, in which the writer had the privilege of serving, decided to start with advanced training centers and worked for three years on standards. In 1958 the organization approved "Standards for Post-Graduate Professional Training in Marriage Counseling."² Although minimal, provisions were included for revision upward as facilities become available.

Evidently, leaders in marriage counseling were thinking along another line similar to that of the 1955 article; one of some plan of accreditation, or at least logical movement from training to membership in A.A.M.C. In 1956 the category of "Associate in Training" was added to the membership possibility. Although not guaranteeing later ad-

* Leader of The Training Program in Counseling and Psychotherapy, The Merrill-Palmer School.

mission, it puts the student under the tutelage of A.A.M.C. and encourages him to meet the requirements in training and supervised experience that will lead to qualification for full membership.

One of the greatest needs, with the growth of A.A.M.C., is some means of distinguishing the highly trained clinician from those members who do some marriage counseling in addition to other duties. A constitutional revision committee, working on this, is considering a new category of "fellow" or "diplomate" to meet this need. Hopefully, movement into this category will be based on a combination of training, experience, and adequate examination.

GRADUATE TRAINING IN MARRIAGE COUNSELING

Although the major emphasis of the 1955 paper¹ was post-doctoral internship training, attention also was directed to the need for developing graduate programs in marriage counseling by utilizing the interdepartmental potential of major universities and insisting upon the interdisciplinary nature of such a core of study. This need now has become acute with the rapidly increasing demand for marriage counselors. In the past most marriage counselors have been trained first in other professions and then specialized in marriage counseling. Now a growing emphasis is being placed upon specific graduate training in marriage counseling as a discipline in its own right.

This is a two-pronged emphasis: One is on those who wish to have some training in marriage counseling along with preparing themselves as psychologists, social workers, etc.; the other is the emergence of doctoral programs in marriage counseling.

Family life educators, psychologists, social workers, pastoral counselors, and other professional persons who plan to counsel with marriage problems will need to incorporate within their training all possible of both the fields of knowledge and the practicum training described in the following paragraphs. Even the professional whose marriage counseling is minimal should have some internship training. Those who plan to make it a major part of their practice should have at least a year of internship training beyond their basic graduate work.

SUGGESTED DOCTORAL PROGRAM IN MARRIAGE COUNSELING

There is a growing movement toward a doctorate in marriage counseling. A master's degree in any clinical field falls so far short of the professional demands made upon the practitioner that it should not even be offered. This is especially true in the field of marriage counseling. I believe only those who are willing and able to attain the doctorate should be admitted to graduate programs.

There is a disturbing tendency in some circles to assume that marriage counseling requires less training and skill than individual coun-

seling or psychotherapy, since it is "merely concerned with the relationship." To the contrary, the marriage counselor must be rooted firmly in individual counseling or psychotherapy and then move on to advanced knowledge and skills in working with a three-fold client—a man, a woman, a marriage.

The marriage counselor becomes the third person in a triangular relationship, a helper to the wife and the husband, individually and together, in their decisions for change and growth or dissolution of the marriage. Thus, he becomes the target for projection and transference at a more intensive level than in most individual counseling. This requires a counselor who is strong enough, flexible enough, with enough training-experience not to permit his role with one spouse to be distorted by his relationship to the other. The situation is complicated further by the greater diversity of focus and of goals than is found in much individual counseling, since in working with a relationship the counselor is committed equally to the growth of each of the two persons and of their mutual relationship.¹

This demands that the doctor's degree in marriage counseling be one of the most intensive and comprehensive in the clinical fields. The content demands interdisciplinary auspices, carefully blended with thorough, supervised training in both individual and marriage counseling. To me, a *four* year program, including summers, is minimal in providing for assimilation and integration of the necessary fields of knowledge, the internship training, and the maturing requisite to beginning practice as a professional marriage counselor.

Early in college the student must begin to build an adequate background for graduate work in marriage counseling. In fact, the time is near when all the clinical disciplines well might pool their resources to provide a common background of college training at two points: the study of human development and behavior early in college; and, the widely accepted principles of clinical practice at the final phase of college and through early graduate study. When the student enters graduate training in marriage counseling he should have, or be required to obtain without graduate credit, the equivalent of a social science major.

FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE

Even more than in most branches of counseling and psychotherapy, the marriage counselor needs to be a veritable encyclopedia of information. Hopefully, this will be more than a photographic memorization of data. It must be a meaningful synthesis of knowledge which is in a constant state of expansion through addition, reorganization and reintegration. This does not mean that his role is to purvey facts and figures or turn counseling into didactic sessions; rather, having an intelligent understanding of a great body of human experiences, that his attitude will be colored thus as he relates in the counseling situa-

tion and as he makes indicated suggestions for seeking help from other professional people.

The requisite fields of knowledge for a doctorate in marriage counseling can be divided into those demanding *thorough knowledge* and those in which an intensive *orientation* is sufficient as a beginning.

Thorough Knowledge

Each marriage counselor will need a thorough knowledge in many areas of development and human relations and will need to keep abreast of current developments throughout his career. Among these areas are the following:

Human development and function. Basic to preparation for any clinical practice, especially to marriage counseling, is a knowledge of human development and function, including the many mechanisms of individual adjustment. Much study in this area is short-circuited by the segmental approaches of biology, sociology, psychology, etc. These approaches must be blended to provide a holistic view of human development with particular emphasis upon normal development of the child, followed by special attention to other crucial periods—puberty, young adulthood, climacteric, aging—in the total life cycle.

Personality theory. Closely related to human development, yet demanding separate treatment because of its volume, is the variety of personality theories. Each contains something of particular value for the marriage counselor. The basic principles of psychology—clinical, dynamic, developmental, Gestalt, learning theory, or social—permeate every phase of the marriage counselor's approach. Organismic or holistic theory, such as found in Gestalt psychology, with its emphasis upon man as a whole within his environmental field, provides a frame of reference inclusive enough to work with a married couple and with whole families. Kindred points of view are the theories of emergent evolution; the psycho-biology of Adolf Meyer; the personalistic psychology of W. Stern; Angyal's holistic theory of personality; child psychiatry, especially as developed by Kanner; and some of the social psychology movements.

Socio-cultural data. The marriage counselor must be saturated with the broad fields of sociology and cultural anthropology. Historically, there has been a cycle in the study of socio-cultural data and their inter-relationship with the development and function of personality. One of the earliest descriptive phrases, "culture and personality," stressed culture as a process or realm distinct from personality. This gave way in time, under the impetus of interdisciplinary study, to the notion of "personality in culture." This, in turn, has yielded to an emphasis upon their inseparable interrelationship.

Marriage and the family. Some of the social changes which have

affected the family during the last few decades are: the division of labor, brought about by specialization of the machine age, especially as this lured women from the home; tremendous elaboration of the desired standard of living, with a "things" based status and development of installment buying; urbanized population; mobility, both physical and social; increased leisure, still increasing because of automation; wide acceptance of the limitation of reproduction; the gradual equalization of the sexes in every area of life; the elevation of the concept of love, including emotional satisfactions expected from marriage; the gradual assumption of family responsibilities by social groups and government; the intensive application of the doctrine of individuality and its counterpart, the organization man. Concurrent with these developments, an entirely new literature has arisen, best described as that of "marriage and family relations." In addition, or as varied expressions of the foregoing, the literature deals with values centering around the economic, status-conferring, reproduction, socializing, affection-response, and security-giving functions of marriage as they are threatening the historical principles of marriage in America, namely, monogamy, permanence, fidelity, and love. Major developments are evident around such topics as expectations in marriage, democracy and the family, values and norms, role concepts, mate selection, children, family break-up and remarriage.

Sexology. Increasingly the public, including professional people, expect the marriage counselor to qualify as a sexologist. Common problems center around unequal desire, perversions, frigidity, and impotence, contraception, sterilization, abortion, climacteric stresses, the many forms of sex expression, and the relationship between sex and love. There are few graduate courses in sexology. Most sex manuals are an odd mixture of the most enlightened concepts and biases closely akin to superstition. The course of study in sexology must root in basic human development, including the contributions of biology, psychosexual theory, endocrinology, research, folk knowledge about sex expression in this and other cultures, sex ethics, sex laws, and the relevancy of all this to the marriage relationship.

Pathological behavior. The marriage counselor should be well grounded in behavioral dynamics, including the normal, the pathological, and the neurotic. Every known type of behavior is encountered in his office sooner or later. By no means is it necessary that he place a diagnostic tag upon his clients. In fact, modern psychiatric practice seems to be leaning farther away from labeling patients with the classical diagnostic terms. However, familiarity with the broad descriptive symptom syndromes upon which classical definitions of mental illness are based is one way for the therapist to alert himself to danger signals. These are divided into those primarily organic in origin and

those which are "functional" in nature. In addition to the broad organic and functional manifestations, the marriage counselor deals regularly with sociopaths and other personality disorders, alcoholism, addiction, criminality, sado-masochism, etc.

Theories of counseling and psychotherapy. A thorough knowledge of the theories of counseling and psychotherapy is essential. These theories should be clearly understood separately, then seen in relation to each other as parts of a total approach to therapy, and then become sources for an eclectic approach by each marriage counselor who must develop, test, and demonstrate approaches which work for him and his clients.

Subjects for Intense Orientation

In addition to those subjects in which the marriage counselor must be expert, there are many fields of knowledge in which he needs careful orientation. He will be called upon to function or provide adequate consultation in such areas as:

- a. Medicine, including psychosomatic, bio-chemical, and psychiatric processes and procedures
- b. Genetics
- c. Domestic Relations Law
- d. Religio-cultural Forces
- e. Cultural Anthropology
- f. Economics
- g. Statistical Methods and Research
- h. Philosophy and Ethics
- i. Community Forces: Community Organization; Educational Resources; Service Resources

Practicum Training

An essential and vital part of doctoral training in marriage counseling is the practicum, or internship, training experiences. These should be an integral part of the graduate training for which academic credit is given; not an added experience, time after course work permitting. The amounts of practicum prescribed following are not at all unreasonable if administrators realize that a great deal of the content outlined before is learned more readily and becomes more meaningful in the context of handling cases. Practicum includes the entire process of case management—intake, staffing, consultation, therapy, case write-ups, records, etc.—but the heart of the process is interviewing and supervision.

Practicum and internship for the recommended doctorate in marriage counseling might be divided as follows during a minimum of 48 months of study:

First Year. If the A.B. degree provided adequate social science

background, some interviewing experience would be possible during the first year. A valuable way would be to work part time in a mental hospital, or to spend the first summer in an institutional setting.

Second Year. 15 clock hours of work per week should be spent in practicum around individual or group counseling. If the minimum practicum were available during the regular academic year, it could be supplemented by a full time summer placement in an institutional or clinic setting.

Third Year. A minimum of 20 clock hours a week should be invested in practicum, including some marriage counseling cases.

Fourth Year. This year should be spent in a full time internship, a minimum of 40 clock hours a week, in a training center meeting the American Association of Marriage Counselors' "standards for post graduate professional training in marriage counseling." Full academic credit would be given for this internship year, completing the requirements for the doctorate in marriage counseling.

Dissertation or Project

The student who selects a topic early in the doctoral program will be able to collect data simultaneously with his study and practicum experience and will be able to use concentrated periods of time in the summer and during vacations to write the dissertation or project. Those who wait until the final year to begin collecting data well may have to spend part of a fifth year to complete this part of the doctoral requirements. In either case, the topic should be some phase of marriage or marriage counseling.

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INTEGRATION VERSUS ANTIDISCRIMINATION

CHARLES LIVERMORE *

This paper is divided into three parts: First, a discussion of what we mean by the words *segregation*, *discrimination*, *integration*, *transitional situation* and *assimilation*. Second, a discussion of the place these words and concepts have in a broad strategy for improving race relations. Third, a discussion of some conflicts that occur among these concepts, particularly non discrimination and integration, in intergroup relations work.

The term *segregation* means the enforced separation of people on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin. It could be on the basis of any other characteristic, but for intergroup relations work, its application is usually to these factors. It may be enforced in the population of a whole society, a school, an institution or an organization, as for example a factory or a labor union. It may be enforced by mob rule where the police and the courts fail to provide equal protection of the law, or by agreement among people who manage a particular institution or market, as for example, agreement among real estate dealers and banks not to sell or rent houses or provide mortgages to non whites except in certain areas.

Discrimination means different treatment because of race, creed, color or national origin. It might include other factors too, such as age or sex or military service, but for intergroup relations work, the reference is mainly to race, creed, color or national origin. It includes segregation. Discrimination has been made illegal in many kinds of situations including hiring, firing, upgrading and terms and conditions of employment, places of public accommodations, all public services, transportation, political party activity, many kinds of housing and in several other areas.

Restrictions on racial and religious discrimination and the achievement of equal protection of the law seem to me to be the cornerstones on which intergroup relations work is founded. I believe they are also two basic blocks on which modern democratic society is founded. From restrictions on discrimination and the achievement of equal protection of the law there results freedom for the individual to move and progress in accordance with his desires and ability.

* Executive Secretary, New York State Commission Against Discrimination. This paper was presented to the Twelfth Annual Conference of NAIRO, November 19, 1958, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Integration means the organization of the populations of a society, school, institution or organization in such a manner that it includes individuals of different races, religions, cultures on a stable and equal basis and of course without segregation.

Transitional Situation is a phrase I hear used frequently to refer to a situation where racial or ethnic populations are shifting, usually in a local or regional geographic area in which the probabilities of being able to maintain integration are relatively negative. It involves problems for schools, churches, businesses, all kinds of social and commercial institutions.

Assimilation means the loss of one basis for personal identification and the adoption or assignment of another, or conceivably none at all if it is possible to live socially isolated. It is a process that has affected billions of individuals throughout history, thousands of cultures, races, nationalities, political organizations and untold millions of ideas. It is perhaps one of the least understood of all social phenomena although popular conceptions about it have a wide influence. Ideas about assimilation are factors in the development of national immigration laws. Around the world there is prejudice against populations which will not or which cannot assimilate. The protections afforded by concepts of civil liberties are of tremendous importance to those populations which do not choose to assimilate—they protect the cultural or political minority. Civil rights protect the rights of all to become integrated in our society, to participate in its benefits and opportunities.

American policy on the whole has been to assimilate new populations. Sometimes this has been a formal policy, sometimes informal. The first Americanization program I saw featured a huge paper machine into which marched several beautiful little girls, dressed in the costumes of the countries from which their ancestors had come, while out the other side of machine marched a parade of boys dressed in red, white and blue Uncle Sam suits. Somehow the machine changed their sex as well as their culture. Reforms in this concept plus the extension of civil liberties have produced the ideal of a culturally plural society which is protective of minorities and does not place such high value on conformity.

The implications of the concept of assimilation from the point of view of public policy seem to me to be clear. A policy for assimilation leads to the persecution of minorities whether they are minorities because they want to be or because they have no choice except to be. A policy against assimilation requires the construction of social devices so oppressive that they would be repugnant to a civilized society. The great irony is that a policy against assimilation has the characteristics of reducing minority populations to such defenceless levels that

they are victimized by the most degrading exploitation which inevitably results in a kind of assimilation, doubly tragic because it corrupts both the exploiter and the exploited.

I have discussed assimilation principally to distinguish it from other concepts with which we deal. There can be no policy for or against it. In a free society, it is a consequence of personal choice in so far as it is any consideration at all. In a tyrannical society it is a consequence of exploitation.

With these broad concepts as a basis I should like to discuss their relationship to those courses of action open to our society in which intergroup relations workers are involved.

First, I think there is general agreement that we have to work for the restriction of discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin to a point where it no longer limits the freedom of individuals to move socially, economically or geographically. This includes all kinds of segregation. This includes also the achievement of equal protection of the law so that the mob does not take over the role of the police and the courts in those areas which have public policies of segregation. These are the cornerstones of whatever else may be done.

Second; those of us who are in a position to do so must strengthen minority group communities, politically, socially, economically, institutionally and especially in terms of family life. We should be concerned about the exploitation of members of minority groups in employment, in housing, in consumership. We should be concerned about the development of leadership among the young people who are members of minority groups. No matter what our policies or what we do, it seems inevitable to me that the next 20 years will see the growth of more and larger concentrations of Negro population in our metropolitan areas, as well as more integration, and the quality of life in these areas, as well as in integrated situations will have a great deal to do with the kind of person who will provide leadership in the next generation.

The best protection civil rights and civil liberties have is that provided by strong minority group organizations. Members of minority groups will not be secure as dependents on the liberalness of the general community. The liberal groups among whites are not strong enough to defend the principles of human equality without help from and cooperation with strong minority group organizations.

The existence of strong minority groups and organizations makes Negroes and members of other minorities individually more selectable, their participation more valuable. Regardless of race, if an individual wishes to be heard in our society there is no substitute for money or for membership in an influential group. Within recent years, Negro identification has become the source of security and status

to many persons because of the benefits that come from being identified with an influential group. The rise of non-white populations in other parts of the world has improved the status of non whites in America. I believe these developments give an assist to the growth of integration in the United States, because they increase the element of status which minority groups bring to integrated situations. I do not foresee the time when differences in race or religion will not provide a potential basis for dangerous social and political movements if there are not powerful organizations which will protect those who are different. Politically, it makes little difference whether the minority is different because it chooses to be or because it can't help it.

Third, I think we have to find ways of putting more resources into transitional areas because many can be stabilized and integrated which now are lost. Urban renewal programs and block organization to diminish the fears of people all help. Also many of these transitional situations are so out of hand that they are damaging race relations as a whole. They should be productive of good and not damaging human experience.

Fourth, develop integration wherever possible. We should be sure that wherever new breakthroughs are made, in employment, housing education, that we have the people to follow them up. As of now, I have the feeling that there is a lot of wasted motion and wasted young leadership because we do not properly deploy the young men and women with talent. We will need many more like the heroic young people who braved Central High School in Little Rock. We also need many young people to take on apprenticeship programs, young homemakers who will try to buy and rent in new areas, and to take advantage of the housing built under the jurisdiction of non-discrimination laws. We especially need nice refined middle class people who are not ashamed to file complaints when they have confronted discrimination in housing in the better neighborhoods or in jobs that are professional or semi-professional. A recent survey by the Commission Against Discrimination revealed 2500 probable discriminatory housing responses to the efforts of 50 families to find housing but none of them had been filed with the Commission. Middle class Negroes, like middle class whites, hate to admit personal failure, and going to anti-discrimination agencies seems to them like going to a welfare agency for financial aid. In some instances this may be the result of the way the public agency performs or has presented itself, but this too can be corrected.

There are two negative things about integration, however, which need to be said. The first is that integration can be and often is a management device to protect the majority group from being outnumbered by a minority. Estimates differ on a good ratio for the admission of minority groups. Some say 50%. Some say 25%. Some

say 10%. In some instances the ratio has been one Negro to several thousand whites. Integration is many things and what is called integration "ain't necessarily so." In the symbol world in which we live, it is a good thing for people who are different to be seen everywhere on as equal a basis as possible just so that people don't get the idea that no one who is different should be there, but what we call integration most places is as few Negroes as possible. Thurgood Marshall told an audience at the Fisk Institute on Race Relations a few years ago, that all the NAACP could do with its law work was to get us pointed in the right direction, from there on the social engineers would have to run the train.

The difference between segregation and integration at this point is the difference between the statement "We will keep all Negroes out" and the statement "We will let a few Negroes in." There is a revolutionary difference in the way we are facing but we haven't gone very far yet. When we have turned around and gone a baby step forward we call that desegregation, but it is a long way from integration and farther still from the full realization of a society managed without discrimination.

The other negative observation about integration has to do with integration as a value concept. I frequently hear that neighborhoods that are all Jewish or Italian or Puerto Rican or Negro are bad neighborhoods. Negro neighborhoods or any other kind are bad, to the extent that they result from segregation, but the evil is segregation not the Negro neighborhood. From a public relations point of view, I don't think it helps a bit to point out that Negro neighborhoods are terrible or call them all "ghettos." As a character in Richard Wright's recent Broadway show says, "I came to Harlem because I like Negroes." A friend of mine tells me very earnestly that he thinks that children brought up in a Jewish neighborhood miss some of the things that children brought up in other kinds of neighborhoods get. Perhaps they do, but this doesn't mean that what kids get in other neighborhoods is better or that everyone should get the same things. Part of one's ability to judge other people is one's own personal security and self acceptance, qualities that are not necessarily developed only in integrated situations. Groups which want to have their own churches and their own schools may represent traditions that contribute great strength to the resistance to pressures for conformity or totalitarianism.

As a way of life many kinds of group life offer rich satisfactions for individuals without which our society would be poorer. There are many children, not all but many, whose personality structure is strengthened by the experience of being part of the majority. One of my associates in NAIRO insists that these philosophical concerns are not our business as practitioners of intergroup relations, that the strate-

gic need now is for greater integration; that the other aspects of this matter be left to those concerned about them, that our job is to develop a dynamic movement towards integration; that we need a campaign for integration among Negroes as well as among whites. I would agree to the extent that there is a tremendous inertia both among whites and non whites that has resulted from a long stalemate in race relations which needs to be overcome, but in developing this campaign or in contributing to the development of a dynamic movement in the direction of integration I would hope that we could avoid contributing to some of its negative implications.

I believe that the integrated society in the sense of our developing a stable plural, non segregated society will ultimately come about. As a longer range goal it is the same thing, as far as I can see, as the society in which there is no discrimination. As a short range strategy, it is partly a management technique to prevent majority groups from being outnumbered and driven out of valued neighborhoods, jobs and institutions. It is undoubtedly a valuable device when used in this short range way to help us get through some of the difficult problems immediately ahead when the pressures behind present race relations issues have been bottled up so long with such great frustration.

Finally, there are situations in which the principle of non discrimination and the management of integration conflict. Here are four examples:

1. An employer who has been hiring without discrimination looks at the population of his plant and observes that he has a high percentage of Negroes. He desires to maintain integration. Hence, he establishes quotas on his next hiring and turns down the best qualified applicant who is a Negro in favor of a white worker. Result: denial of merit employment.

2. A housing manager looks at the population of his non discriminatory housing development and notices that two of every three most qualified applicants are Negroes. He reasons that if he continues to take only the most qualified families his project will eventually be all Negro. He wants to maintain integration and establishes a quota; for every Negro family selected, he selects one white family. Result: For every three families selected one Negro family is denied housing for which it is qualified and to which it is legally entitled and is discriminated against because of race.

3. A school superintendent discovers that in ten years, the population of five schools presently in a transitional situation will be largely Negro despite all efforts to juggle school boundaries. He wishes to maintain integration. Therefore, he decides to abandon the five schools, enlarge the fifteen schools in the other parts of town and bus the

children from the areas of high Negro concentration to the other schools. The result is not more expensive because it enables him to more fully utilize the school facilities by giving him a greater flexibility in school population distribution. There is, however, inconvenience to the students and parents who are bussed and the loss of institutions to the community which can be a basis for neighborhood stability. Negro children are being treated differently because they are Negroes.

4. A private group-work, character building organization recognizes that the area of Negro concentration needs youth work services. However, to build a branch in this area would result in an all Negro center. It, therefore, diverts its capital funds into other all white areas, enlarges its central branch services and runs a decentralized program for the Negro neighborhood recruiting as effectively as possible for its central branch. Result: a limited but effective degree of integration in the central branch; the loss, however, of valuable youth services in the area of Negro concentration.

These examples represent problems currently under debate in many communities. Three of these examples might be instances of illegal discrimination under laws in force in several states. It is obvious that the principle of non-discrimination may be in conflict from time to time with the management of integration.

In the face of such conflicts, administrators of laws against discrimination should exercise some restraint and judgment and for this reason, I am in favor of that provision in the laws against discrimination which give to the enforcement agency certain conciliatory and basically discretionary responsibilities. We should not be so rigid that we frustrate any aspect of a sound strategy for improving the over-all situation. But I also believe that if an individual wants to buck the quota or whatever the individual management device is for maintaining a racial balance or integration *the individual's rights must prevail*.

If a program constantly results in all Negro populations, as the public housing programs seem to do, then the whole program should be evaluated to see if there are not better alternatives. Quotas should not be used to deny needed educational, housing or employment opportunities—they can be used to produce a stable distribution of population.

If there are enough jobs and enough housing units to go around, this policy will produce more integrated situations. If there are not enough, then it serves to deny opportunities and under these circumstances we should look at the systems that provide these opportunities and see if there may not be something wrong with the basic

housing or economic policies involved. It is in this respect that the management of integration seems to most frequently fail.

I do not believe that anything should be sacrificed merely to prove that integration will work or that Negroes and whites can get along together. I would not dignify this proposition by conceding that it's controversial. At the same time we have much to learn about the management of the integrated society, about obtaining from it the maximum productivity it can achieve, the full richness that it offers human experience. Integration can be achieved in part by management devices such as the adoption of quotas; it can be encouraged by community organization devices to stabilize transitional situations. Some gains can be made by the conscious dispersal of populations on a sound basis but perhaps most will be gained by the increase in individual potentials for mobility by economic improvement, education, the development of political and economic strength and influence among minorities and by the development of social motors within culturally impoverished groups themselves.

My judgment suggests that the elimination of discrimination is the fundamental political and social issue involved in intergroup relations; that integration is both the probable long range consequence of non-discrimination and, also, a valuable short range management device for protecting majority groups from the high cost of fleeing or being driven out of valued neighborhoods, jobs and institutions and for dispersing minority populations on a wider basis in our society. We should not confuse the long range idea of integration with its short range uses. Nor should we, in our enthusiasm for the idea of integration, corrupt by interpretation or seriously bend in administration the individual civil rights and civil liberties on which our progress as a free society depends.

A final observation: There is room for discretion in this and it is particularly needed in the South. I believe there are many more people in the South who would accept the ending of segregation, perhaps enough to make a basic difference, if a plan could be devised for the management of integration which would, on one hand, not corrupt the principle of civil rights and would, on the other hand, protect white populations from the danger, either real or imagined, of being driven out of needed jobs and institutions. It would take resources which only the Federal Government could provide, a considerable tolerance and understanding, an absolute suppression of the terrorists and probably a very generous interpretation of the time factor. Whether such a managed integration would be acceptable is both a legal and political decision but from a technical point of view, I think it is feasible.

KINDERGARTEN BEHAVIOR AND FIRST-GRADE ACHIEVEMENT: A CASE STUDY EXPLORATION

ANTON BRENNER* and NANCY MORSE SAMELSON†

To reveal some of the dynamic, individual ways in which children relate themselves to the school world, and to trace the connections between these kindergarten behavior patterns and later school achievement, this paper describes the behavior of 10 children during their early weeks of attending kindergarten.‡ Behind the decision to study 10 children intensively is a belief in the scientific value of building psychological generalizations from an extended consideration of individuals in all their wholeness, uniqueness, and organization, as well as from the statistical analysis of specific variables applied to a given population. More concretely, this study was seen as contributing to the understanding of readiness for school through a description of the highly individualized patterns of each child in relation to school demands and expectations and showing the complex interplay of qualities which seem to enter into a child's school achievement level. Thus, the case descriptions are themselves to a large extent the "results" of the study. In addition, two types of generalizations for testing in later studies emerge from the case descriptions: (1) the definition of several different styles of school-child relationships, and (2) the delineation of some of the dynamic processes involved in children's functioning in school.

SETTING AND SUBJECTS

For studying individual behavior patterns the kindergarten setting had a number of advantages. *First*, being in the same general environment the individual ways in which the children actualized its potentialities were quite readily observable. *Second*, the kindergarten in

* Director, research project on readiness for school.

† Formerly, associate in the research project on readiness for school.

‡ This study is part of a long-range research project on children's readiness for school, being conducted by The Merrill-Palmer School with the cooperation of the Greenfield Village Schools, Dearborn; the Detroit Board of Education; and Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit, designed to further understanding of the characteristics of children which indicate degree of readiness, as well as the kinds of expectations and requirements which schools set up for children (1-3).

which the studies were made offered a rich and flexible environment, providing opportunities for actualization of a wide range of individual potentialities. *Third*, it was similar to the school environments to which the child would move, in ways such as the non-home locus; common institutional arrangements and general behavior norms; and, the presence of a teacher and other children. These similarities increased the likelihood that the patterns observed were relevant to later school functioning. *Fourth*, the interval of approximately a year and a half between the observations of the children and the judgment of first grade performance was sufficient to make it probable that the kinds of behavior observed were precursors of later functioning and thus indicators of readiness for first grade.

The case descriptions which follow are drawn from 17 all-morning observations of a private school kindergarten class during the first month of attendance. The observational records were in the form of running protocols, as full and descriptive as possible. In order to preserve in the record the individuality of each child and the special content of his behavior, observations were not structured. On the basis of rankings in March of the children's first grade year, the 10 children whose records are presented were chosen by their teacher as the five highest and the five lowest among 16 in terms of first grade functioning and preparedness for second grade.

The material for each child was organized primarily into four major areas, corresponding to aspects predominantly involved in the child-environment transactions:* objects, verbal symbols,† peers, and teacher (and other adults). Behavior not related to these areas was considered related to the total milieu. The children's behavior during the first month of kindergarten is classified according to these areas. The case studies also encompass reports of achievement in the second grade as ranked by the teachers. The rankings in June of the second-grade year indicate the degree to which the comparative position of the children remained constant. The names used in this report are fictitious.

The 10 children were a homogeneous group in several respects: all were in the same class of a private school; all were between 4 years, 10 months and 5 years, 9 months old when they entered kindergarten; all came from middle or upper middle class homes; and, none were mentally retarded. Concentrating exclusively on the uncategorized kindergarten protocols has the further advantage of permitting a wide variety of children's qualities to be included in the case de-

* "Transaction" is used in the Dewey-Bentley sense (4, 5).

† Language was of course used in many transactions with the teacher and peers, but "transactions with verbal symbols" is considered a relevant category when verbal symbols are central, as in story-telling.

scriptions, without prior judgment as to their relevance to school functioning. The method also provides a constant frame of reference for viewing the characteristic behavior picture of each child and thus does not include data extraneous to the kindergarten situation, such as information used in earlier communications (2, 3) on the children's family background and the results of the mental tests.

CASE STUDIES

THE FIVE CHILDREN MOST SUCCESSFUL IN FIRST GRADE

HAL—Rank 1

Transactions with objects. Hal spent most of his free play time, outdoors and indoors, in coordinated motor activity involving his whole body, such as swinging across parallel bars, carrying heavy objects, and block building. He undertook drawing, cutting out, and other such tasks only on the teacher's request, completed them quickly and without much skill, then returned to his preferred activities. He related confidently to objects and people and remained secure and calm even when some occurrence threw other children off balance.

Transactions with verbal symbols. While Hal had a hard time waiting quietly for the teacher to begin a story, once she began he was attentive and interested. He learned the words of songs quickly and well. He did not often initiate conversations, but at news time he often volunteered news, demonstrating a good vocabulary and grasp of word meanings.

Transactions with peers. Hal usually related to other children by joining in activities rather than by confrontation. His relationship with them was that of a fellow worker who cooperated on a building project, helped to put away things, etc. One of a group of boys who liked doing the same things, he was usually chosen as their seatmate or partner when "choosing" occurred. On the few occasions when he initiated choosing, he selected these friends. While he volunteered in such group situations as news time, he seemed embarrassed to stand before the group and spoke so low he was difficult to hear. Though he played with a group of boys who often disagreed and fought among themselves, no disagreements or fights in which he was involved were recorded. His behavior toward others seemed to evoke cooperation from them.

Transactions with teacher. Typically, Hal's relationship with the teacher was one of being reminded to sit quietly in his seat, after which he would be quiet and attentive. He seldom initiated contacts, though he sometimes went to show her what he had cut out or to whisper to her. She would then encourage him to speak out in the group. His shyness apparently was not due to a lack of self-confidence or fear of the teacher. Without defensiveness or apology, he communicated his point of view to her and stood up for himself quietly and candidly.

Achievement in first and second grades. The first-grade teacher not only ranked Hal as the "most ready" for promotion to second grade, but also described him in considerable detail, noting his intelligence, capacity for enjoyment, resourcefulness and initiative, and quality of "not bothering" others. In the second grade the teacher ranked him fifth in accomplishment and second in ability, indi-

cating that he had maintained his school performance well. She also rated him as outstanding in relationships with classmates.

Discussion. Between the time Hal was first seen engrossed in block building and other motor activities in kindergarten and the time the first-grade teacher rated him highly in reading, number work, and general functioning, about one and one-half years elapsed. In that interval his interests and skills had changed greatly, yet some qualities shown in kindergarten shed light on his later school success. Though shy, he was personally secure, verbally capable, and well able to get along with others. It is probable that these qualities were important in helping him to learn and grow rapidly in school and to become more mature in his interests.

JOHN—Rank 2

Transactions with objects. John's transactions with objects primarily involved symbols and meaning. From the first day of school he showed great interest in mentally challenging materials. During free play he would often use the counting board, the color matching board, and other pegboards, do jigsaw puzzles, or draw pictures. His drawings were original, well organized, and complex, with strong, nonstereotyped, and yet appropriate colors. In drawing, clay work, block building, and other creative activities he worked rapidly and skillfully, producing what he had planned and giving form to his ideas. His transactions with objects always involved more than immediate physical relations, for he both selected and responded to them in terms of their potentialities for symbolization and phantasy. Usually, however, his imagination could be seen only indirectly, through his drawings, building, and other productions and sometimes in imaginative play.

Transactions with verbal symbols. John appeared to be "in tune" with language, though he was not talkative. Often, after the teacher finished reading a story he asked questions, expressed liking for the story, or in other ways showed the experience was meaningful and real to him. When the teacher gave the class instructions he was often doing something else and appeared not to pay attention, but would then carry them out quickly and accurately. When he volunteered news he gave full descriptions and when the teacher asked intellectually challenging questions he was usually the one to answer.

Transactions with peers. When there was no group activity John often sat by himself, working or watching other children. He liked Carolyn (rank 5) particularly, and at milk or game time chose to sit near her and watch her play. Though flattered by his interest, she appeared not to want a close friendship with him, or did she initiate contacts. While John was popular with some children, he did not appear to like these children especially, but spread his choices over most of the class. He played mainly with other boys when outdoors. At such times some fought each other for fun, and several times John was injured slightly. Once he hit another boy in the eye and then apologized. During indoor free play he sometimes showed dislike of the noise the children made.

Transactions with the teacher. John was a "good" member of the class—on his own initiative putting away things after free play, helping others clean up and seating himself at the right time. He cooperated actively with the teacher, answering questions, volunteering to gather information and responding readily when chosen for special responsibilities. However, he was not a "goody-goody,"

or was he submissive to the teacher's authority. He expressed his own ideas, even if they differed from hers.

Achievement in first and second grades. John's first grade teacher remembered that he was noisy and naughty at the beginning of the year but later became interested in reading and was quiet. She said several times that he seemed older and more mature than the other children. She appeared to worry about his becoming bored and tried to maintain his interest partly through putting him on committees. He preferred not to be told what to do but liked it better when she left stimulating materials about for him to discover and work on. She commented that John could write nearly every word he was reading; that his writing was beautiful; that he would do all the extra unassigned combinations in number work; and, that he was capable of doing very good art work but would not do it on demand nor in the time allotted. His second grade teacher ranked him fourth in performance and first in ability, indicating continued high achievement, though not to his level of ability. She rated his relations with classmates in second grade as good.

DISCUSSION. John's thirst for intellectual stimulation and his well developed creative abilities were noticed particularly during the early weeks of kindergarten attendance. However, these advanced interests and abilities meant that he had little in common with most of the other children, particularly the other boys, who would otherwise have been his playmates. The pertinent question concerning John is why his achievement in the first and second grades was not even more outstanding, in view of his intellectual curiosity, creativity, and capacity for self-direction. Evidently the school environment did not offer sufficient intellectual substance or opportunities for self-direction and creative expression for his optimum development. Probably John could have easily learned to read and write in kindergarten and could have worked at a faster pace in first grade. The teachers were noticeably ambivalent about his potential for working on his own, for, while adjustments were made, they would have preferred him to work more under their direction.

JOAN—Rank 3

Transactions with objects. Joan imitated others in behavior related to objects. She made paper-ring chains during free play after the teacher showed how; watched Carolyn (rank 5) draw, then made similar pictures under Carolyn's direction; strung beads and did other simple handwork tasks. In crayoning she drew the traditional objects and forms—the green lollipop tree with the brown trunk, the red apples, the blue sky at the top of the paper and the green grass at the bottom. She enjoyed playing house, acting out the daily tasks of cooking, telephoning and taking care of baby. Outdoors she used the trapeze, swings, and slides with energy, agility, and confidence.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Joan enjoyed talking and chatted easily with both adults and children. Often she talked to other children as she worked. She also participated in the more formal news time. She memorized rapidly and quickly knew the words of a new song. She liked to write her name and carefully wrote it on each of her papers.

Transactions with peers. Joan, a very sociable girl, was almost never by herself. While friendly with many of the children, she particularly liked such girls

as Carolyn, who acted "grown up." Since she herself so often initiated social contacts, she had little opportunity to be actively chosen by others but otherwise her friendliness was reciprocated. Though she enjoyed following directions from other children, she was not submissive in peer relationships, but showed considerable social initiative; for example, she encouraged other children in games and persuaded a child to share the slide with others.

Transactions with the teacher. Knowing and doing the expected things were so completely a part of Joan's behavior that there are no indications in the records of her being in any way nonconforming. She not only did quickly whatever the teacher asked of the class; she even anticipated the teacher's requests. She seemed to enjoy special recognition from the teacher and showed this desire; for example, by telling the teacher how she had straightened up the easel, saying she already knew something the teacher presented for the first time and "telling on" a child not behaving according to the rules.

Achievement in first and second grades. When the first grade teacher described the children individually, she had little to say about Joan except that she was "lively and sparkling." Her second-grade teacher rated her second in accomplishment, fifth in ability and outstanding in relationships with classmates.

Discussion. Joan's most prominent quality was her strong desire to meet the expectations of others and do "right." However, her high degree of conformity and eagerness to imitate others were combined with a steady attitude of self-confidence and considerable spontaneity in social relations and motor activities. This combination suggests that Joan genuinely enjoyed meeting school requirements and did not feel restricted by them. Her school success thus seemed closely related to her wholehearted desire to do what was expected and to her confidence in her ability to succeed. These characteristics overbalanced her lack of originality and lack of initiative in mental activities.

RUTH—Rank 4

Transactions with objects. Ruth had no enthusiasm for most of the objects available in kindergarten; she felt and said that they were childish. During free play she often waited before choosing something to do; then, she might color, string beads, cut out, paste paper chains, draw, play in the doll corner or work on a puzzle with help from others. One type of object relationship was characteristic; she was both attracted to and frightened by such equipment as slides, swings, teeter-totter, rocking horse and stilts. Often she stood near such equipment, then cautiously tried it. She liked to have an adult nearby for help and encouragement at such times. She forced herself to use the equipment but was always awkward and tense during the attempt. Quite often she stopped soon, obviously afraid, and put her hand over her heart, breathing heavily, mocking an adult mannerism.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Ruth understood quickly the games the teacher introduced, recognized her name on lists, memorized well, and could count to at least 12. She both asked and answered questions and conversed often with teacher and observer. Her vocabulary and manner of talking were both advanced.

Transactions with peers. Ruth seemed to feel superior to most of the class and showed it by not entering informal play activities, making complaints to the

teacher about other children, showing strong disapproval of noise or impoliteness and not sharing equipment. Her friendly contacts were almost limited to one other girl, who also seemed to feel superior.

Transactions with teacher and observer. Ruth appeared to enjoy the company of adults. Physically in an environment with children, psychologically she related primarily to adults; for instance at news time she talked directly to the teacher. She often spent free play time with teacher or observer, either talking or getting help. During the teacher-directed part of the program she did whatever was expected, sometimes even anticipating the teacher's suggestions.

Transactions with general milieu. When there were no organized group activities, Ruth quite often did nothing but walk around the room or sit alone at a table, quiet and inactive. Outdoors she might stand indecisively by the slide, sometimes talking to herself.

Achievement in first and second grades. Ruth's first-grade teacher described her as "having to be such an adult all the time." She also mentioned that Ruth was not as observing, resourceful, or bright as one would expect, in view of her "grown-up" ways. Her second grade teacher ranked her first in accomplishment, third in ability and good in relations with classmates.

DISCUSSION. In both kindergarten and first grade Ruth modeled herself on adult standards and ideals and tended to reject the world of children. Interestingly enough, this desire to behave as much like an adult as possible was probably one of the qualities that helped her to achieve so successfully in school. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important keys to the world of adults, a world in which Ruth wanted to participate fully and be accepted as an equal. While her strong orientation away from children and toward adults was probably an advantage in school achievement, it may have prevented her from experiencing inner content and happiness. Her inability to enjoy spontaneous play and her fears of physical injury are examples of the price she paid for trying to grow up too fast and to overcontrol her feelings and behavior.

CAROLYN—Rank 5

Transactions with objects. During free play Carolyn often drew or painted vigorously. Her pictures had good form and bright colors but lacked originality. The quickness and skill with which she worked would have suggested an inner confidence and security but she became very upset when she drew something that did not conform to her expectations. She often played in the doll corner and did such "seat work" as clay modeling, making paper-ring chains, working on puzzles and coloring. Outdoors she was very active and capable on swings, parallel bars and trapeze.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Carolyn understood and used words well. She responded quickly and accurately to instructions, quickly memorized new material and at news time told stories she had learned, such as "The Five Little Kittens," or about some personal event. She was quiet and attentive at story time but did not ask questions.

Transactions with peers. Carolyn lived in a world of peer admiration. Not only was she often chosen in games and at all other "choosing" times; she was also watched with open admiration, particularly by John and Joan. The children

generally admired her abilities and physical attractiveness and did not seem to resent her expressions of superiority to them. Her most frequent relations to other children involved giving directions, almost as if she were a teacher, e.g., showing a child how to draw, scolding some boys for making a mess, reminding a child of something he had forgotten to bring. That these actions indicated a desire to be considered superior, rather than helpfulness, became clearer from other behavior such as making fun of a child's drawing, often "telling on" other children and saying smugly of the other children, "They always copy from me."

Transactions with the teacher. Carolyn was very responsive to the teacher's wishes. She did at once whatever the teacher asked and often anticipated her. When the teacher asked "What are we supposed to do when we enter the room?", Carolyn answered: "Sit down quietly." When the teacher asked "What is the tongue for?", Carolyn replied: "The tongue is for tasting." So far was she the stereotype of a model pupil that she sometimes seemed to be making fun of the teacher. The teacher often chose Carolyn to demonstrate a new song to the class. She appeared to enjoy this recognition, though the few times she made a mistake she covered her face with her hands and seemed much embarrassed.

Achievement in first grade. In discussing Carolyn, her first grade teacher concentrated on her reading development. At first the teacher feared Carolyn would be a serious reading problem because she was so afraid of making mistakes that she could not learn. However, by talking with her alone and as a member of the advanced reading group, the teacher felt she had helped Carolyn to feel less anxious and more willing to admit that some words were hard for her, and thus to become a good reader.

DISCUSSION. Carolyn's desire to be superior to the other children and completely successful was evident in her kindergarten behavior. These characteristics, probably most closely associated with her later school achievement, also threatened her performance, as her first grade teacher's comments illustrate. To excel was so important to Carolyn that she was likely to become emotionally upset, discouraged and immobilized whenever she found herself falling short of immediate and complete success. Her self-confidence depended upon her continually meeting certain standards of performance, rather than upon an inner feeling of self-worth. While this strong need was evident in her high degree of conformity and thus contributed to her school success, it may have prevented her from showing genuine warmth and originality.

THE FIVE CHILDREN LEAST SUCCESSFUL IN FIRST GRADE JERRY—Rank 12

Transactions with objects. Jerry liked to play actively with large objects—wagon, rocking horse, blocks. In these activities he showed confidence, initiative, reasoning, and persistence, while his response to the more school-like tasks was in decided contrast. When he could not avoid such tasks, he usually did them reluctantly and a different way from that suggested, as illustrated by his way of making paper rings. Most of the children at once began making them as instructed but Jerry first returned to block building and later made a ring chain with a different pattern from the one the teacher suggested. That his reluctance to do such tasks was partly due to lack of confidence is suggested by his telling

the observer that he would like to draw a man on a ladder but did not know how to draw shoes on the man and so would not make the picture at all.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Jerry's response to verbal symbols was unpredictable. Usually he paid close attention to a story but sometimes he would not listen at all. At one time he would repeat an entire prayer correctly; at another he would forget the words of a short song. He could talk fluently and quickly at news time but sometimes was interested only in roaring and making other loud noises.

Transactions with peers. Jerry lived in a very sociable world and was friendly and well liked, appealing to both children and adults. He often had friendly fights with other boys which might end in real hitting but he usually defended himself without hurting anyone. Showing initiative without dominance in peer relations, he tended to be sensitive and easily hurt, a quality that evoked protectiveness from others.

Transactions with teacher and other adults. For Jerry the teacher's main function was to adjudicate when he fought with other boys and console when he came to her after being hurt. Often she had to remind him to be quiet during story time, singing, news time or rest period. In other ways, as well, he did not behave as she would have liked—wrote manuscript instead of printed capitals, as she taught, and was noisy when she was talking to the class. Though she might admonish him for his behavior, her remarks were gentle and he seemed to feel quite free to go to her with problems.

Achievement in first and second grades. His first grade teacher appeared to be very fond of Jerry. She described him as a sensitive, attractive child who loved beautiful things. She thought he feared not being able to do things and that he needed constant encouragement. In second grade he was ranked sixth in accomplishment and eighth in ability, indicating great improvement in his relative position in the class; his relations with classmates were judged to be outstanding.

DISCUSSION. If performance in second grade rather than first had been the criterion, Jerry would not have been rated among the least successful. The relation between his kindergarten behavior and low performance and his later marked improvement should be considered. Jerry's kindergarten behavior suggests that his ability was greater than his power of sustained performance. Since the characteristics shown in kindergarten in no way insured the improvement he showed in second grade, it may be that his first grade teacher's acceptance, encouragement, and love made it possible. Although she rated him twelfth in a group of sixteen, she thought of him, not as a relatively poor school achiever, but as a lovable boy who needed encouragement. It may be that this warm, understanding attitude helped him develop an inner faith in himself that accounted for his improved performance in the following year.

JANET—Rank 13

Transactions with objects. During free play Janet often played alone in the doll corner. Even when stringing beads or working with clay she usually took them to the doll corner. When she moved away, she often took a doll with her. She showed a wide range of reactions toward objects, from creativity to destruc-

tiveness. Sometimes she broke things, sometimes she was awkward, yet once she was observed drawing a very small face in clay with fine, meticulous strokes, showing creativeness and degree of concentration as well as skill in eye-hand coordination, that were rare not only for her but for most children of her age. Quite often she chose a different method than that illustrated by the teacher; for example, making paper chains in a different and more complicated pattern or drawing a picture using only yellow crayon.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Janet seemed to have little involvement with language. There was no indication that she gained much meaning or satisfaction from listening to stories or news. She was sometimes noticeably inattentive. She did not talk much, or volunteer at news time. Her free play time was often spent alone.

Transactions with peers. Janet's relationship to other children was one of conflict or domination. She used words and if necessary physical force to keep other children away from the dolls, baby carriage and doll corner. She liked to tell other children what to do. Sometimes a child was willing to follow her lead, but on the whole Janet experienced other children not as playmates but as complainers to the teacher about her unwillingness to let them share or about her hitting them. She was rarely chosen at games and other "choosing" times and seemed to have no special friends.

Transactions with the teacher. The teacher tolerated some of Janet's non-conforming behavior—her refusal to share, hitting children, failure to participate in group activities, inattention during stories and news time, and noisiness during rest period—yet fairly often reprimanded her in front of the other children. She appeared to consider Janet a baffling problem but tried to understand and help her.

Achievement in first and second grades. Janet's first-grade teacher described her as a discipline problem. Though she felt Janet expected to be constantly nagged, she had tried to encourage the child to be more responsible for her own behavior. She stated that Janet's number sense and reading were both poor. Janet's second-grade teacher ranked her tenth in achievement and fourteenth in ability, indicating some relative improvement. Her relations with other children remained poor.

DISCUSSION. For Janet the requirements that she share, sit quietly and participate with the rest of the kindergarten children were almost impossible to meet. The other children disliked her, and the teacher more often reprimanded than supported her. Her major reactions were resistance and anger and neither teacher nor children could relate to her positively with any consistency. Almost immediately she became involved in a cycle of anger and fear, a pattern that continued, though less strongly, in first grade. There she had difficulty in meeting school expectations and did not seem to have actualized the potential briefly shown in kindergarten. Her relatively low level of functioning apparently stemmed primarily from the conflict between her behavior tendencies and the behavior expected by the school.

DAVID—Rank 14

Transactions with objects. David spent much of his free play time carefully loading and unloading blocks and making block buildings with others, playing in the sandbox, and pushing trucks and cars around the floor. He preferred active

tasks and games and did such "sitting" tasks as cutting out and pasting only when the teacher asked the class to do them. Sometimes he chose to draw simple, not at all clearly delineated, forms.

Transactions with peers. David usually played inconspicuously with other children and seemed to get along well with them. He and three other boys were particular friends and often sat next to one another and chose one another in games. His relations with girls varied from friendly to rather unfriendly.

Transactions with the teacher. David's relations with the teacher were almost limited to such group situations as story and news time, when she usually had to speak to him directly to get him to sit quietly. Sometimes he interrupted to tell her something about himself.

Transactions with total milieu. David often moved around restlessly on his cot during rest period, and occasionally during the activity program found it difficult to channel his energies, and instead yelled and screamed with several other boys.

Achievement in first and second grades. David was not mentioned in the first grade teacher's descriptions of individual children and the observers in kindergarten, as well, often overlooked him. Evidently his behavior usually made him inconspicuous. His second grade teacher ranked him twelfth in accomplishment and thirteenth in ability, about the same ranks he was given in the first grade. She rated his relations with classmates as good.

DISCUSSION. David's general immaturity appeared to be the most important factor in his low achievement. Expressed in kindergarten in the kinds of play he favored, his lack of interest in verbal symbols, and his restlessness, it showed up later in his lesser readiness for learning the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Perhaps it also accounted for his getting along well with other children but making little impression on adults.

STEWART—Rank 15

Transactions with objects. Stewart was intense, energetic, and almost constantly on the move. Block building was the play activity he chose most often. Sometimes he built beautiful structures; at other times he hammered noisily on the blocks. He managed a large number of activities in his free play time, including drawing, playing noisily with a wagon, making an airplane, painting at the easel, making a clay snake and giving it to the teacher, stringing beads, pasting, laying on the horse, playing with the cars, and trying to do a duck puzzle. Outside he usually ran around a good deal, but sometimes played on the equipment provided. He was rather indifferent to seat work initiated by the teacher.

Transactions with verbal symbols. Stewart's behavior was inconsistent and contradictory. At times words appeared to be meaningful, even exciting, to him. At other times he was inattentive and while talking would hesitate, falter, and perhaps stop completely. His memorizing ability, his span of attention, intellectual curiosity, and level of comprehension all fluctuated. One day the teacher stated that there were two seats vacant, and asked what that meant. Stewart at once answered that two boys were absent, indicating mental alertness and ability to reason. At one news time, however, he suddenly stopped while telling a story, said that he would walk around and left the group, apparently forgetting the story and showing no interest in listening to others. He was closely attentive when listening to the record player and to stories about firemen and fire drills.

Transactions with peers. Stewart was nearly always with other boys and usually led them. Most of his outdoor play time was spent fighting for fun or chasing and being chased. While he was aggressive, at times even belligerent, he was not observed hurting any of the children or being hurt. He was friendly and very popular with the other children.

Transactions with the teacher. Stewart did not like activities that required sitting still. At such times he not only talked to other children, moved around restlessly and was noisy, but often asked the teacher when they could play. There were other times when he did not conform to the teacher's expectations. Sometimes he ran around wildly and noisily and the teacher would then take him aside and calm him down; or with other boys he misbehaved and was kept indoors during the outdoor play period. For Stewart, the teacher was someone who set limits that he often transgressed, yet someone whose approval he wanted and with whom he wished to cooperate.

Transactions with total milieu. Often extremely restless and noisy, Stewart ran around the room making a tremendous amount of noise, roared when the teacher tried to make an announcement, and in other ways showed an inability to channel his energies.

Achievement in first and second grades. Stewart's first grade teacher felt that he was a bright boy, though very distractible, who liked attention. In first grade he was in the lowest group in reading and generally low in achievement. In the second grade also he was next to the lowest in achievement and fifteenth in ability. The teacher considered his relations with other children to be good.

Discussion. Sitting still and keeping quiet for considerable periods of time, so much a part of the school situation, were difficult for Stewart. If his teachers would have reduced this requirement for a noisy and active child like Stewart, school would have been an easier place for him; though whether such an approach would have made him less tense and overactive is uncertain. However, the kindergarten observations make it evident that his achievement potential was higher than he reached in either first or second grades.

FRANK—Rank 16

Transactions with objects. Frank alternated between extremely noisy, impulsive, non-goal directed behavior and very controlled behavior. He might be running around the room screaming or very carefully planting some trees in the sandbox. He might be noisily hammering blocks together, or he might be setting the table in the doll corner in an orderly fashion.

Transactions with verbal symbols. During story and news times Frank was usually quiet but gave no indication of being particularly attentive. His reaction to what the teacher said varied from making a suggestion showing good comprehension to failing to grasp simple instructions. Fairly often he talked at news time, to the teacher as well as other children, but his conversations were brief and showed a small vocabulary and little interest in words and language.

Transactions with peers. Frank often played by himself, though when block building he played beside other boys and might join the girls in the doll corner. Both shy and aggressive, he sometimes hit other boys. A few times he made unsuccessful attempts to lead other boys. In choosing situations he was rarely a chooser or one of the chosen. In general, he was rather isolated from other children.

Transactions with the teacher. Though he made a great deal of noise during free play time, Frank usually was quiet when expected to be. He appeared to want the teacher's approval and generally behaved well. In turn, the teacher tried to encourage him and gave him approval and support.

Transactions with general milieu. Of all the children Frank was the one who most often showed nonfocused, non-goal-directed behavior. The most frequent kinds of such diffuse reactions were: running around the room, neighing like a horse, or letting out blood-curdling screams, or lying on the floor screaming. There was neither an apparent reason for these reactions nor did he seem to be asking for attention. Rather, he seemed to be expressing inner fears and anxieties. His screams, usually ignored by teacher and children, stopped as they had started, without apparent external reason.

Achievement in first and second grades. In the first grade Frank was lowest in achievement and in reading. His teacher said it took him longer than other children to grasp and understand but that he was a good thinker when he did comprehend. She described his vocabulary as poor. She felt that he was dreaming and worrying more than he had earlier and consequently was having greater difficulty in comprehension. The second grade teacher rated him last in both accomplishment and ability but judged his relations with classmates as good.

DISCUSSION. Frank's kindergarten behavior, especially his screaming and neighing, suggested that fears and anxieties were flooding through him much of the time. His low school achievement appeared to be one aspect of a general difficulty in relating. Though quite well behaved, Frank was not completely in contact with the school world. The first grade teacher's description of his worrying and dreaming suggests that his ability to take in and relate may even have decreased during the year.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASES DESCRIBED

I. The foregoing descriptions are of interest and value in themselves as specific illustrations of the complexity of the relations between a child and his school. Each of the children studied showed a unique and characteristic developing relation to school. Each was successful in the first and second grades to a degree related to a combination of reasons. None of these descriptions, in all details, will ever be replicated by another child.

II. Nonetheless, the cases provide a basis for generalization. The major features of a child's case can be high-lighted to describe a general type of *successful* or *less successful* child. Such consideration shows individual characteristics which should be applicable to many other children.

Prevalent Personality Factors in Kindergarten Children Likely to be Highly Successful in First Grade

1. The child who is personally secure and skilled in interpersonal relations.
2. The intellectually curious child who is self-directing.
3. The child who enjoys meeting the expectations of others and doing what is considered "right."

4. The child who models his life toward an adult image and strives to be accepted by adults as one of them.
5. The child who has a strong desire to be superior to peers and to compete successfully.

Prevalent Personality Factors in Kindergarten Children Likely to be Less Successful in First Grade

1. The child whose strong fears and anxieties interfere with continued contact with reality.
2. The child who is unobtrusive and generally immature in all areas of development.
3. The child who is restless and must be constantly on the go.
4. The child who is angry and cannot accept the social behavior limits of school.
5. The child who fears competition and failure and avoids situations that might involve failure.

These characteristics, some more definite than others, do not exhaust the possibilities. Further research may show others, revise definitions, or possibly lead to discarding some of those described. Some may be applicable only to children in schools similar to the one studied. (Comparison of findings in two contrasting schools suggests that successful and less successful types vary greatly in the two settings.)

III. The cases presented lead to generalization about the *dynamic principles* involved in a child's relations to school, as well as in his readiness for school.

1. Children become successful by different routes, and the factors involved are different for different children. Within limits it would seem that very different qualities can be equally valuable in helping a child to function well in school. Thus, intellectual curiosity may be as effective as a strong desire to conform, or personal security, verbal capability, and interpersonal skill may be as effective as a strong desire to be superior to peers. This might be called the *principle of inter-equivalence*. Applying equally to the less successful children, it shows extreme restlessness, strong hostility, and general immaturity, all making school achievement difficult.

2. Each of the five successful children had qualities that might have threatened his achievement, were they not compensated by qualities that furthered a positive relation to school. Thus, Hal was immature in many of his interests; John was somewhat isolated from the other children; Ruth feared physical activities and had difficulty in being playful and spontaneous; Joan lacked originality and intellectual initiative; and Carolyn had a strong need to feel superior to other children. Sometimes the very quality that favored achievement was part of a pattern that might tend in the opposite direction. For example, the child who has a strong desire to be superior may also fear failure and thus withdraw from situations that could threaten his superiority.

The less successful children also showed qualities that, given different balance, could have led to better achievement. Jerry showed initiative, peer leadership and a desire to be liked by the teacher—positive qualities that did actually prevail and change the balance toward success in the second grade; Janet could be highly goal directed, and at times seemed to want approval; Stewart's alertness and intellectual curiosity were evident when he sustained attention long enough to show them; David was cooperative; and Frank wanted to do what was expected of him.

Thus, the presence of certain positive or negative qualities does not in itself indicate high or low achievement. Rather, it is the total balance of positive versus negative characteristics which is predictive. We call this the *principle of compensatory balance*.

3. The case studies showed that achievement level is the outcome of a child-school transactional pattern. That is, achievement is situationally as well as individually determined. High achievement can be considered the product of a "very good fit" between the child's predominant characteristics and the demands and expectations of school. Conversely, low achievement can be considered the result of a "poor fit" between the two. This we call the *principle of "fit."*

4. Though each of these principles indicates relationships between the individual characteristics of children and school achievement, it is also true that the five children who were successful in first grade had certain qualities in common, as did those who were less successful. The individual characteristics of the high achievers might be considered as different reasons for finding school situations positive and attractive. This positive orientation, in turn, is manifested in certain similarities in their behavior. Thus all five showed sustained verbal transactions, found the symbol world meaningful and interesting and were able to meet the teacher's expectations by behaving usually in ways she considered appropriate. The individual characteristics of the low achievers similarly operated to reduce their positive relation to the central tasks of school. Thus, in each of the five, though for different reasons, ability to sustain verbal transactions, to use symbols meaningfully and to conform to the teacher's expectations, was low and their involvement in school tasks, therefore, was less than that of the successful children. We call this the *principle of commonality*.

5. The case descriptions highlight questions which have bearing upon a principle of school policy formation. The case of John indicates the possible danger of rigid adherence to chronological age in initial placement of intellectually advanced children. This same policy may also be a problem for the immature child, though starting a child "late" does not appear as difficult to arrange as starting a child "early." Several cases in the low achievement group, especially that of Janet,

brought out a not at all uncommon paradoxical relationship. It appears that by having the same and therefore "equal" requirements for all children, each being different from the other, school and teacher are actually treating the children very unequally. The very children who are in greatest need of support and approval from the teacher may be the ones who receive it least often, and those who could function on much higher levels of demand may not be challenged enough. It is possible that the idea of individual differences in achievement in such school tasks as reading has found greater acceptance than has that of individual differences in ability to behave according to certain prescribed patterns, such as sitting quietly in a chair for considerable periods of time.

The *principle of school policy formation* then insists upon the adaptation in part of the requirements of school to the readiness of the child as well as adapting the child to the requirements of the school. Only through policy formation of this kind can we get better integration between the child and the school in the furtherance of the educational task.

SUMMARY

This study examines early kindergarten behavior in its relation to first grade achievement. Sixteen children in a private school class were ranked by their first grade teacher in terms of functioning in first grade and preparedness for second grade. The first most successful and the five least successful children were chosen for case study analysis. Data are drawn from extensive classroom observations made during the first six weeks of kindergarten attendance. The ten children are described in their transactions with objects, verbal symbols, peers, the teacher and other adults. From these case descriptions generalizations emerged regarding different styles of child-school relationships characteristic of children who are likely to be highly successful in first grade and of children who are likely to be less successful. Other generalizations derived from dynamic processes related to a child's readiness for school enabled the development of five principles: the principles of inter-equivalence, compensatory balance, "fit," commonality, and school policy formation.

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Book Reviews

PERSONALITY AND TEMPERAMENT. Solomon Diamond. 463 pages. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1957. \$6.00.

Among the interesting and unusual features of this book is its strong emphasis upon the importance of the constitutional nature of the organism, always in interaction with environmental influences in the development of personality. The author points out that in complex organisms like the mammals, life and growth are maintained through (1) the vegetative processes (respiration, digestion, etc.) and (2) the "animal functions" (locomotion, feedings, etc.) which directly serve the vegetative processes by relating and adjusting the organism to its immediate environment. In this connection three "principle modes of adaptive behavior" are identified. These are the tendencies toward "fearful avoidance," "aggressivity" and "dependent affiliativeness."

Each of these rather broad categories has its characterizing emotional component. From Diamond's point of view the essential nature of emotions consists neither in their disorganizing effects nor their purposive, integrative function. He sees them rather as "consisting only of the preparatory stages of innate forms of response." Thus the emotion of anger, from this point of view, is best regarded simply as an organismic preparation for an act of aggression.

Along with the three categories of adjustive tendencies mentioned above is a fourth behavioral disposition which the author calls "impulsivity-inhibitory control." This variable however, does not correspond to a distinctive mode of adjustment, but is more general in nature. Diamond regards these four constitutionally based dispositions as the major, although by no means the only dimensions of human temperament.

The author makes a strong point that in the study of personality it is of utmost importance to "distinguish between the essential foundations of individuality and its cultural elaborations." He feels that, since "human behavior is the expression of a physical organism which is basically similar to that of other mammals," the most fruitful approach is "to study the temperamental foundations of personality as they appear in the culture-free behavior of animals." With this purpose, three chapters of the book are devoted to the examination of the findings of animal research which are relevant to the problem. Thus in the behavior of mice, rats, dogs, cats and chimpanzees he finds in clear evidence of dispositions to fearful withdrawal from danger, to aggressive attack on victims or competitors, to affiliativeness and to impulsivity or inhibitory control in response to the environment.

The temperamental pattern of a given human being, of course, is the basis for his individuality. However, "because of the relative immaturity of the human neonate, we must not expect individuality to show itself clearly in early life." "Constitutionally determined behavioral tendencies may not be discernible until

the later stages of maturation are reached." Each of the dimensions of temperament thus has its time of inception and its "critical period." Fear-avoidance, for instance, is the first to appear, reaching its critical period for reinforcement by the environment during the early weeks of the child's life. Affiliativeness develops during the first year when a depth relationship with a "mother" is so important. Impulsivity is at its height during the second year, while the critical period for aggressivity comes later when parental problems growing out of the child's impulsivity and its control are factors in the situation.

Diamond devotes considerable space also to a consideration of the various theories and approaches to the problem of temperament, both physiological and statistical. With the idea of a basic temperamental core to the elaborated adult personality as an integrating concept, such topics as psychological maturity, the self-concept, symbolism in relation to perception, concept formation, humor, etc. are interestingly dealt with.

In general, the reaction of this reviewer to the book is positive. Relevant research findings are well marshaled in support of the author's contentions. The style of presentation is interesting. The book's contents should be carefully considered by any serious student of personality development.

LELAND H. STOTT

The Merrill-Palmer School

THEORY AND PROBLEMS OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT. David P. Ausubel. xiv + 650 pages. Grune & Stratton, New York, 1958. \$12.00.

The author has assigned to himself the Augean task of organizing and interpreting the mass of empirical findings accumulated in the stables of Child Development. He also assumes the goal of formulating a unitary (yet, multidisciplinary), systematic theory of development to replace the fragmentary theoretical formulations stemming from neofreudianism, neobehaviorism and cultural anthropology. The Sisyphean-like nature of this last task is obvious in a field where today's empirical findings so often up-end or, what is even more frustrating, skirt, yesterday's theories. The value of Ausubel's Herculean labors, however, is not transitory. As an advanced textbook for graduate students and as a reference work and handbook for professionals in the fields of education, psychology, pediatrics, psychiatry and social work, *Theory and Problems of Child Development* will be of benefit to many for a long time to come.

The first section, Theoretical Foundations of Child Development, of this four section work is a brilliant and invigorating treatment of basic philosophic, theoretical and methodological issues. These issues include: the definition of the field, its separation from child psychology, indeed, it is *because* I agree with his basis for differentiation that I believe a more accurate title for his book would more properly have read—*Theory and Problems in Developmental Child Psychology*; the categorization of Child Development as a natural rather than an experimental science, with all that it demands in the way of developing a more rigorous and sophisticated methodology; an historical overview and critique of trends in theories concerning the general nature of human development in which Ausubel with great conceptual clarity ably synthesizes various approaches into preformationist, predeterminist, *tabula rasa* as well as his own, emergent interaction, categories. Ausubel puts into a theoretical-historical perspective such con-

cepts as innate ideas, instincts, primary and libidinal drives, G. Stanley Hall's doctrine of recapitulation, Gesell's theory of maturation, Freud's stages of psychosexual development, as well as the impact of theories in such fields as biological evolution, embryology, genetics, behaviorism, philosophic and educational humanism and cultural determinism. The author does more than merely present a historical review of what has gone on before in the field; he analyzes the major directions of the theoretical movements and links contemporary theories and concepts to their historical forebears. It was sharply clarifying, for instance, for me to read his analysis of the relationship between the predeterministic educational philosophy of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel and contemporary nondirective and child-centered approaches to the training, education and guidance of children.

The chapter on Problems and Methods of Research is devoted to a discussion of crucial issues specific to developmental content and would be of invaluable help to any planning research in child development as well as to those already so engaged.

The second section deals with pregnancy, prenatal development, the birth process, maternal behavior, the neonate and infant care. Drawing upon a wealth of research studies, Ausubel traces the major physical, physiological and psychological developmental processes and discusses the theoretical significance of various phenomena as antecedents and/or causal agents for immediate and long range developmental structuring. His critique of such views as those manifest in the Cornelian Corner and the Freudian doctrine of psychosexual development and its ramifications in such issues as breast versus bottle feeding, early versus late weaning, "mothering," thumbsucking, infantile "sexuality" (which he believes more clearly categorized as "sensuality") emphasizes the role of "dogma, fad and fashion" in shaping "much of what passes as pediatric or psychological science in the area of infant care." After evaluating the empirical evidence, Ausubel finds no support for "the widely held belief that *specific practices in and of themselves* contribute significantly to enduring psychological and idiosyncratic differences in personality development." The role of parental practices as distinct from that of the supposedly underlying parental attitudinal substrate in affecting personality development is given special attention as is the question of the maturity of the infant's perceptual and cognitive ability to be aware of subtle shadings of parental attitudes, *per se*.

Of interest to our readers may be Ausubel's comments on the suggestion by J. C. Maloney that maximally permissive practices used by some primitive peoples be introduced into our own culture. Ausubel feels that extreme contrasts between permissive early upbringing and severe demands and expectations imposed upon adults are a potential source of personality trauma. "Prolonged and extreme mothering might be appropriate in Okinawa where the culture as a whole is relatively simply organized, undemanding and noncompetitive and might indeed constitute *one* of the reasons for the relatively low incidence of psychosis among the Okinawans. But when the same practices are employed by immigrant Okinawan parents in the highly stratified and competitive Hawaiian culture, the incidence of psychosis is significantly greater than among other ethnic immigrant groups of comparable socioeconomic status."

The third section is devoted to the general theme of development in such major areas of personality as the ego, emotion, values, interests, morals, fantasy

life, psychosocial interaction, child-parent and child-peer relationships. Ausubel here presents his own original view of ego development "as the resultant of a process of continuous interaction between current social experience and existing personality structure that is mediated by perceptual responses." Unlike the psychoanalytic approach which he believes views the ego as a "characterological precipitate of the id as it comes in contact with reality," Ausubel's interactional formulation considers neither the direction nor the pattern of ego development as predetermined by genic factors or by a preformed unfolding of a psychosexual sequence. Key emphasis is given, rather, to such closely empirically derived concepts as biosocial status, primary and derived; intrinsic and extrinsic parental evaluation of the child; the various manifestations of satellization, a relationship in which the subordinate child accepts a subservient role and is included in the orbit of the superordinate as an intrinsically valued person independent of the child's own competence or performance ability; executive and volitional dependence. Space does not permit more than a listing of Ausubel's scheme of the stages of normative ego development: the emerging self-concept; omnipotence; the ego devaluation crisis; satellizing and nonsatellizing solutions to ego devaluation; ego maturation, involving the three processes of desatellization (1) resatellization to peers and others, rather than parents, as focus of the satellizing relationship (2) emphasis on primary rather than on status derived from parents and (3) exploratory or task-oriented approach to value assimilation. Ausubel emphasizes that his theoretical propositions are avowedly speculative and are presented merely as hypotheses. The value of these formulations rests, therefore, on whether they serve to give the reader new conceptual insights into the significance of already collected data and, secondly, whether they provide a framework for future research. Ausubel, in my opinion, has ably succeeded on the first score; only time and the direction of future research will reveal the heuristic value of his work.

Peripherally ego related areas of development such as physical and motor growth, language, perception, cognition and intelligence are dealt with in the fourth section. Though more descriptive and less theoretically oriented than the preceding sections, this last portion does point up the issues in the areas and endeavors to link the specific growth trends to the general principles of development presented in the earlier sections.

As challenges to the perceptive reader, the "printer's devil" has liberally scattered typographical errors and the author has made abundant use of convoluted terminology and repetitious rehashing in what otherwise is a very stimulating contribution to the field of child development. While the empirical horses (perhaps the more developmentally appropriate analogy would be "colts") constantly mess up the neat conceptual stalls within the stable of theory, Ausubel's labors have given the rest of the multidisciplinary professional stablehands a cleaner approach and a clearer perspective of the task of not merely describing, but of explaining the process involved in the development of a child.

IRVING TORGOFF

The Merrill-Palmer School

Book briefs

EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENTS. J. Roswell Gallagher and Herbert I. Harris. 174 pages. Oxford University Press, New York, 1958. \$3.50.

Written for all who deal with adolescents, either individually or in groups, this book presents a constructive approach for dealing with teen-agers and their problems. Emphasis is given to the fact that the adolescent, although he or she may have problems, is a person, not a problem and that it is the individual who needs to be understood.

The three most perplexing areas of life for adolescents in our culture are seen as (1) sex, (2) loosening family ties, and (3) attaining success with and gaining recognition from the peer group.

Parents and others who live and work with adolescents are urged to try not to protect them but to understand, guide, and sometimes give temporary help. One of the major themes running throughout the book is the help adolescents can get from having someone who will listen to them and encourage them to verbalize their feelings.

Various problem areas are discussed in some detail, but perhaps the most significant contribution of this book is the confidence-inspiring tone for those adults in close touch with adolescents.

101 GIFTS AND NOVELTIES CHILDREN CAN MAKE. Becky Shapiro. 127 pages. Sterling Publishing Company, New York, 1958. \$2.50.

The author uses clear illustrations and simple language to describe over 125 items which can be made by, and should be of interest to, children 8-12 years of age. The items are made from ordinary household materials like milk cartons, wire, cupcake papers, and yarn. There are seven major sections including "Holiday Gifts," "Dolls to Make," and "Toys to Make."

A large number of the items presented involve "paper craft" and one wonders why the author did not include more suggestions which could utilize wood and woodworking. Nevertheless, there are a number of unusual ideas which may prove helpful to the parent in need of additional activity suggestions.

INCOME TAX GUIDE FOR TEACHERS. J. K. Lasser. 131 pages. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1959. \$1.95.

After preparing tax guides for the general public for a number of years the Lasser Tax Institute has prepared an income tax guide for teachers. The guide includes step by step information on the preparation of income tax and answers questions like: "Can you deduct part of your rent and other home expenses for tutoring and other work you do there?", "How do you report income as a self-employed person doing consulting work, private tutoring, etc?" There is also a special section devoted to Social Security benefits.

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